2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

was also conflict over the location of boundary stones. At first I could scarcely believe my eyes when I was shown how the peasants distinguished their fields. Taking some landmark such as a tree, a bend in the road, or a stream, the peasants marked off their strips by small piles of stone. Fences and hedgerows were impracticable because the strips were too small to justify the expense of enclosure. Since every farmer possessed several strips, possibilities of conflict over the boundaries were numerous. The wonder is that there was so little trouble, in view of the fact that every foot of the strip must be utilized if the farmer was to make any profit.

Animals too proved a source of dispute. The oxen, for instance, strayed into an unprotected field and did considerable damage to the growing crop. The person incurring loss often took the matter to the mayor for trial in his magistrate's court. Once an effort was made to have all funds collected from such disputes turned over to the local *Chitalishte*, or Library Association, but this received little public support. For some time there was very bad feeling between the shepherds and the dairymen over the question of pasturage. The *Obshtina*, or local government, passed an ordinance that grazing should be done on one's own land and the common pasture abolished. The shepherds, accustomed to roaming over a considerable area in a day's time, were violently opposed to the new measure; those possessing five or six head of cattle naturally favored it.

Other types of conflict also arose over animals. The widow Zdravka, in explaining to me why she was not on good terms with her neighbor Dimiter, brought another case of disagreement over livestock to my attention:

"Just before St. Peter's Day, Dimiter's dogs fell upon my sow as she passed his yard on her way home from pasture. The pig, which was to bear young the next day, became frightened and fell into a ditch. I immediately went to the veterinarian who told me that the pig's young would be stillborn, and sure enough, they were. I went to the priest and the mayor to ask for justice, but Dimiter told them that he didn't let his dogs out and the accident wasn't his fault. Since he was a man, nothing was done to him and I can't do anything about it myself."

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

When I asked her if she and Dimiter had quarrels about other things, Zdravka answered:

"We don't quarrel for I keep quiet, and he only speaks to me 'between his teeth.'"

Poultry was a source of much ill feeling among neighbor women. Whenever a hen or rooster strayed into the garden next door there was apt to be a verbal battle, the effects of which fortunately wore off within a few days. There was one woman, however, who had not spoken to her next-door neighbor for three years because of harsh words uttered about a straying hen. "May her chickens be homeless," cursed the other person in describing the incident.

In case the women quarreled over such things as chickens, overhanging branches of a fruit tree, or the return of a borrowed article, the men were inclined to treat the whole incident lightly and speak of it as "woman's business." On the other hand, if two men had a serious dispute, their families behaved distantly toward each other, either because of actual antipathy or because of paternal command. From the standpoint of social interaction, therefore, a serious row between two men was more of a strain on the social structure than was a quarrel between two women. It was apt to last longer, involve more people, and have larger issues at stake.

A visit to the village courtroom convinced me that money was also the basis for much misunderstanding. The court records were full of cases of men who had argued over financial matters until one of them haled the other into court. Most of these disputes were settled by the mayor, but many people left his courtroom still dissatisfied. Because the Dragalevtsy peasant was penurious, every lev was cherished and spent only when absolutely necessary. Such frugality was a virtue from one point of view, but it became a vice when it led to disruptive conflict.

This increased emphasis upon money permeated even the family relationships. One woman exclaimed:

"Relatives don't even lend sewing machines to one another without payment. I have a sister-in-law who has a machine, but she won't let my daughters use it unless I pay."

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

422
231

TABLE 9

DRAFT ANIMALS OWNED BY DRAGALEVTSY FARMERS, CENSUS, 1926

SIZE OF FARM IN DECARES	HORSES	OXEN	COWS*	WATER-BUFFALO	TOTAL
0- 10	7	0	0	0	7
10- 20	1	4	2	0	7
20- 30	8	10	5	5	28
30- 40	7	11	5	6	29
40- 50	8	16	5	0	29
50- 60	9	32	4	4	49
60- 70	7	27	3	5	42
70- 80	12	20	4	3	39
80- 90	5	6	0	4	13
90-100	5	11	0	0	16
100-150	41	60	6	14	121
150-200	14	16	0	11	41
200-300	5	0	0	6	11
Total	127	213	34	58	432

* Cows includes buffalo cows.

407
422

TABLE 10

FARM MACHINERY OWNED BY DRAGALEVTSY PEASANTS, CENSUS OF 1926
(EXCLUDING MONASTERY FARM)

TYPE OF IMPLEMENT OR MACHINE	NUMBER OWNED BY ALL 232 FARMERS
Wooden plow	176
Plows with wheels	157
Metal plows without wheels	5
Harrows	1
Rollers	13
Planters	2
Hay rake	1
Winnowing machines	57
Cream separator	1
Honey separator	1
Others	7